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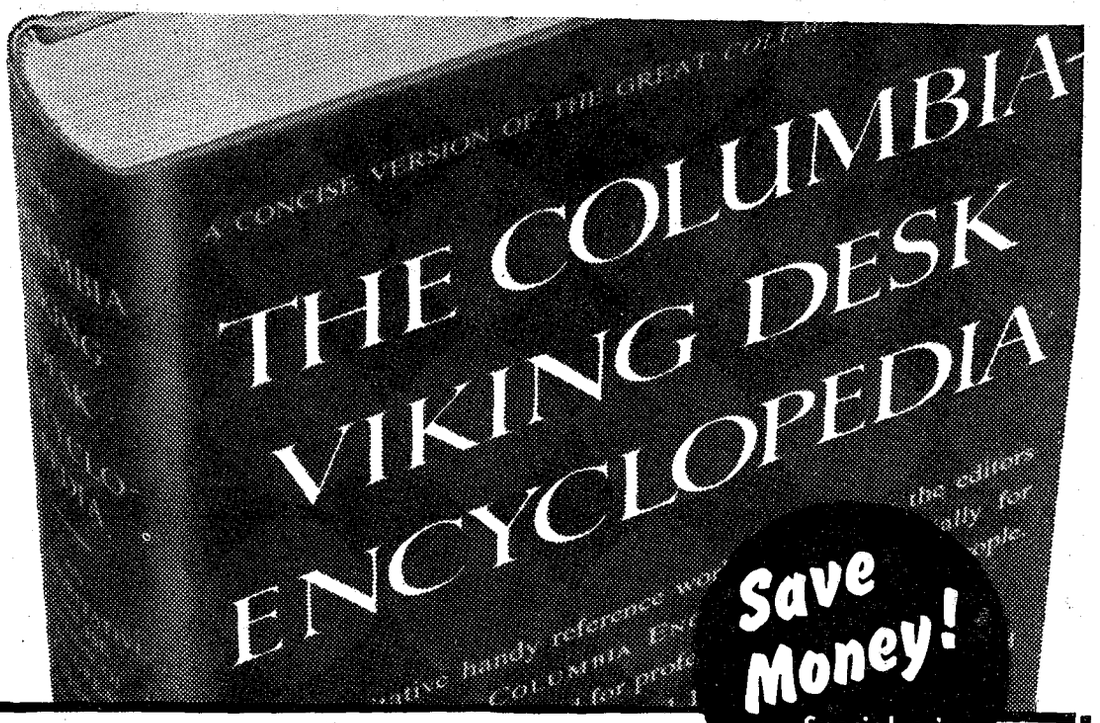

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Volume 177, Number 12
New York, Saturday, September 19, 1953

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The President Vanishes

So much has been said and written about the awesome burdens of the Presidency that everyone rejoices when the President takes off for a rest. But it is not the circumstance that he is currently on vacation in Colorado that prompts us to record the curious impression he conveys these days of being, somehow, the man-who-isn't-there. For one thing, the President has had less and less to say and what he has said has been less and less interesting. Then, too, the impression that he has vanished has been heightened by the feverish activity of his subordinates. What with dashing about the country making inflammatory speeches and needling our more reliable allies in reckless press conferences, Mr. Dulles has managed to preempt the headlines these last few weeks. And when Mr. Dulles is not in possession of the front-page right-hand columns, Mr. Nixon is usually there. Either the Vice-President is being pushed into the foreground usually reserved for the President or, with characteristic brashness, he has simply elbowed his way into it. In any case the gradual disappearance of Mr. Eisenhower is ominous. Like many others, we suffer from the recurrent nightmare of Mr. Nixon in the White House. Already the nightmare is becoming a daytime reality. Reassure us, please, Mr. President! Say something, do something, just to prove you're still there!

The Dulles Doctrine

In his speech to the American Legion in St. Louis, Mr. Dulles announced what is in effect a new Truman Doctrine for Southeast Asia. Unlike the original, however, the Dulles doctrine has aroused, in the words of the Alsops, "hardly a ripple of interest."

All that Mr. Dulles has committed us to, of course, is a full-scale war with China should Mao intervene in Indo-China—a policy that in less peculiar times would surely have called for a little discussion. But the implied commitments of the Dulles doctrine also merit attention. David Douglas Duncan, in a recent *Life* article, suggested that the French would lose interest in defending Indo-China once they lost the ability to dominate it and that they would lose their dominance once a large fully trained native army came into being. Perhaps that is why the National Security Council in Washington, in recommending last week a doubling of our appropriation to help the French in Indo-China, suggested that some of the money be used, not to strengthen the native army, but to enable France to send nine additional battalions of its own troops into the area.

But the more deeply we commit ourselves to the Indo-Chinese war, the more certain it becomes that the right will join the left in France in wanting its end. Only last June Mendès-France, seeking the premiership on a platform calling for a negotiated settlement, came within five votes of gaining absolute majority he then needed. The French constitution has since been changed; a new premier no longer needs an absolute majority but only a majority of all votes cast.

Should the French decide to abandon Indo-China, we shall inherit responsibilities not touched upon in Mr. Dulles's speech. The cost of empires has gone up, as the British, the Dutch, the French, and now we ourselves have discovered.

McCarthy: Commander-in-Chief

An extraordinary Associated Press Wirephoto shows Senator McCarthy, a coldly aloof background figure, tough and hard-boiled as a Mickey Spillane private eye, staring down at Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens and Senator Dirksen seated puppet-like at a desk in front of him. The picture not only strikingly suggests his dominance over them but the new role to which he aspires, namely, commander-in-chief of the armed forces. After a fairly uneventful summer season—his investigation of the Government Printing Office was a thunderous dud—McCarthy is once again baiting the President, and as might be expected, the harvest of headlines is bountiful.

In his current venture Joe is not concerned with army loyalty procedures or screening techniques *per se;* he wants to score a popular triumph by showing that he can make the colonels talk. The Corliss Lamont book

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circulated by the Far East Command and the "leaks" to newspaper columnists are simply stage props for the new tableau of Joe McCarthy cracking the whip. It is a bold effort. But now that Mr. Brownell's bevy of bright lawyers in the Department of Justice—who had so little difficulty in dreaming up reasons to justify an appeal of Judge Youngdahl's decision in the Lattimore case, have confessed their inability to find basis for legal action in the Senate's famous report on his activities—Joe can afford to be bold.

Mr. Brownell's capitulation raises, incidentally, an interesting minor issue. If the facts in the report do not warrant presentation to a grand jury, they are still sufficient to warrant disciplinary action by the Senate. The only trouble is that the Senators have been averting their eyes from the report for so long that they can hardly be expected to recognize it now that Mr. Brownell has tossed into back to their collective lap.

Only Millionaires Left

So the plumber has left the Cabinet and only the millionaires are left. Mr. Durkin must have felt like going home a long time ago. Not only would his distinguished colleagues never listen to him (on the matter of revising Taft-Hartley, for instance, or on the appointment of the labor member to the National Labor Relations Board); they wouldn't even let *him* listen to *them*. He is reported to have told a friend, plaintively, that whenever he walked into a room "everybody stopped talking."

Mr. Durkin's decision to quit this hostile atmosphere reflects credit on him and on the labor movement. One could only wish that, having suffered so long, this patient man might have been willing to suffer a little longer—at least until the last week in October. His resignation on the very eve of the November elections might have been still more helpful in opening labor's eyes to the issues.

The War in Kenya

It is approximately one year since the white settlers in Kenya, rather reluctantly supported by the British government, launched the undeclared and officially unrecognized war against the Mau Mau. From figures published in the Tanganyika *Standard* and *Central African Post*, Reginald Reynolds estimates the casualties to June 3 as follows: killed by the Mau Mau, 411 Africans, 17 Europeans, 4 Asians; killed by the anti-Mau Mau, 848 Africans. At the outset the world press, following the lead of the British, spoke of the "Mau Mau terror"; today even the British press refers to the "Mau Mau insurrection." The official view, as expressed by General Erskine, is that "there is no good reason to expect the Kikuyu war to be brought to an early conclusion."

Costly as the war has been measured in loss of life

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and property, it has been even more costly in terms of the loss of good-will. "Prolongation of bloodshed," reports the London *Economist,* "is having incalculable effects on race relations throughout Africa." More and more Indians are aligning themselves with the Africans, while the words of Nehru have aroused "the bitter resentment of every European community from the Nile to the Limpopo."

On this first anniversary of the struggle some slight encouragement may be drawn from the fact that the British now realize that they are dealing with a full-scale insurrection. Even the settlers, or a few of them at least, are slowly awakening to the realities of the situation. According to the *New Statesman and Nation,* some of them are now toying with the idea of releasing Jomo Kenyatta from prison and persuading him to assume the leadership of a movement for reconciliation and adjustment. In this way lies peace.

They Want Negotiation

Stalden, Switzerland

THE annual conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace (I. L. C. O. P.) was held this year in the beautiful castle of Heunigen at Stalden near Berne. The subject of discussion was the United Nations. A large number of organizations were represented, American as well as European—the National Peace Council, the Ligue Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix et la Liberté, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and others. No delegation came from the backers of the Stockholm petition, though the last conference of that group in Budapest emphasized their willingness to work with non-Communist peace movements. In fact, the keenest American investigating committee could not have found a single Communist.

The opening address was by Philip Noel-Baker, who had been a member of the British Labor government. His topic was Disarmament, and since Malenkov had just announced that Russia had the hydrogen bomb, his arguments had a striking timelessness. Mr. Noel-Baker was convinced that the armament race was the main cause of international tension and that the United Nations should make disarmament its chief goal. He assailed governments which lacked the courage to urge disarmament and excused themselves by claiming it was technically impossible. But while his audience listened with interest, it was by no means won over to his proposals.

The majority believed that no disarmament plans could be carried out until conditions favorable to negotiation had been created. One of the speakers stated categorically, "I would rather see the bare beginning of an agreement between the opposing blocs achieved at a great-power conference such as Churchill advocated than the most complete and impressive disarmament program."

The well-known Swiss Socialist, Jules Humbert-Droz, defined the real issue in a speech that was heartily applauded. He held that first of all the authority of the United Nations must be strengthened and that then it must be exercised to further negotiations, not to supersede them. His articles in the Swiss press prove that he is no pro-Russian, but he sharply criticized the United States for insisting that if negotiations were entered into, American demands must be fully satisfied. Coincidentally, the London *Times* declared on the very next day that no greater disaster could be conceived than for the United Nations to be converted into an anti-Communist coalition.

Other speakers were Gertrude Baer, permanent consultant at the U. N. for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Dr. Ernest Wolf of Switzerland, who organized the conference, Reginald Sorenson of the British Labor Party, chairman of the National Peace Conference of Great Britain, and Mrs. Annalee Stewart of the W. I. L. P. F. All considered the question of how interested organizations could rally greater popular support for the United Nations and infuse it with new life and vigor. J. A. DEL V.

France's Fascist Appendix

Paris

THE threat of new strikes and social unrest is considered very serious. Close observers of the August walk-outs were greatly impressed by three things: (a) the tremendous solidarity among the rank and file of all three principal federations—Socialist, Catholic, and Communist; (b) the skill and discretion with which the Communist C. G. T. at no point allowed the strike to become political but on the contrary always stressed the need for labor unity; (c) the almost universal sympathy for the strikers, or at least the inclination to excuse them for the infernal inconvenience caused by the work stoppages—especially in the postal and railway services—and to blame the government. In the end it was the Socialist F. O. and the Catholic C. F. T. C. which called off the strike; the C. G. T. followed suit in the name of "unity."

The prestige of the C. G. T. has risen greatly among all workers, and existing tendencies toward something like the old Popular Front have undoubtedly been reinforced. The increasing political significance of these tendencies has been stimulated by rumors to the effect that what is happening in North Africa is a small-scale rehearsal of certain plans for the appearance of a "strong man" in France. More and more of the press is talking of Marshal Juin as the "man of destiny," and not

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in North Africa only. Considerable importance is therefore attached to the election of President Auriol's successor at the end of the year. M. Pinay, who is a likely candidate, is viewed as very much "Juin's man," one who will give Juin his opportunity.

That some people think Juin a real danger is clear from the resignation of M. Mitterrand from the Cabinet. Mitterrand had reluctantly swallowed the coup against the Sultan of Morocco, but when he found that the new Resident General in Tunisia was another nominee of Juin's and therefore unlikely to pursue anything remotely resembling a liberal Mitterrand policy, it was the last straw.

Though it was not apparent at once, the August strikes were in a sense the crystallization of a major popular movement not only against the economic and social victimization of labor but also against an excursion by the right, the possibility of which had been demonstrated by events in North Africa. It has been said that North Africa is "a fascist appendix of a democratic France," but a diseased appendix can become dangerous to the whole body. And as the fear of dictatorship grows on the left, and even affects what might be called liberal opinion, so the fear of communism, or certainly of French Communists—"people not so different from us"—steadily diminishes. Hence a mood is developing that might favor a popular front. It is only a mood as yet, but—

ALEXANDER WERTH

ADENAUER'S HOUR

But the Future Holds Peril . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THERE is general agreement in European capitals that Dr. Adenauer, having won his great victory, will encounter no obstacles at home when he proceeds to incorporate West Germany in the Atlantic community. The poor showing made by the splinter parties proves that the election was a contest between the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats, a genuine two-party contest from which the Chancellor's party emerged supreme. Moreover, Dr. Adenauer's personal triumph was even greater than that of his party; he can now pursue virtually any policy he pleases. The Swiss German press, which was particularly well situated to assess the result, emphasized that aspect of it. "The German people," the Bern *Bund* commented, "have again found a strong man."

Of course Adenauer was greatly helped by the support of the United States. With a more sensitive people like the French or the Italians, Mr. Dulles's intervention might have had a contrary effect. The Germans took it simply as proof that by electing Adenauer they would assure themselves unlimited American aid. All the former soldiers and officers of the Reichswehr counted on playing important roles in the European army; all who wanted German reunification above everything else believed they could best obtain it by shaking a mailed fist in the Russians' face.

BECAUSE Germans fall so easily under the spell of a strong man, the Christian Democrats benefited from having Adenauer as leader and the Socialists were penalized by having lost Schumacher. Ollenhauer is a competent politician, but he cannot sway the masses by the force of his personality as Kurt Schumacher used to do. Whenever Schumacher spoke in the Bundestag, even his enemies crowded into the hall to hear him. The austerity of his countenance was accentuated by his multiple disablement and his look of one who knew he had not long to live. His speeches were filled with striking phrases: "Clericalism is the fifth occupying power"; "I have no desire to see my countrymen incorporated in a European army to which the order to advance will be given in German and the order to retreat in French."

The Socialists had to contend also with the traditional bias against them. This unreasoning prejudice has continued undiminished since the time of Bismarck, though their opponents' policy of aggression has led the country into such terrible hecatombs. Their docility in voting for the war credits in 1914 did them no good. In 1953 as in 1871 they were the hated "reds." "*Nieder mit dem Marzismus!*" (Down with Marxism!) was again a war cry in these elections, though few Social Democrats today, in Germany or elsewhere, spend much time reading Karl Marx.

The rout of the Communists, who failed to win a single seat in the Bundestag and whose leader, Max Reimann, was beaten in his constituency in the Ruhr, where the workers were thought to be strongest, lessens the anxiety underlying the West's demand for "free elections" throughout Germany. Sunday's returns showed that even if the East Berliners and the people in the eastern zone voted unanimously for the Socialist-Communist Unity Party, the Parliament of all Germany would contain fewer Communists than the French or Italian Parliament does.

Neutralism as urged by the former centrist Chancellor Dr. Wirth and groups which take part in the world peace conferences was also decisively defeated. Gustav Heinemann, former Minister of the Interior, who broke with Adenauer because of what he considered the Chancellor's too great subservience to Washington, was not reelected. Tomorrow's Germany will be a strong military power.

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Since the Christian Democrats have now an absolute majority in the Bundestag, the Chancellor will no longer have to placate the smaller parties in the coalition and can govern as the "strong man" pure and simple. Of course he must reckon with possible defections. In the course of the next few years some of the present enthusiasm for his policies may evaporate—much will depend on Russia's German policy, which so far has remained "soft" despite the election results.

EXPERIENCED commentators in Paris and London, though officially pleased with the outcome, express a certain anxiety about the effect on Washington. They fear a return to a high-handed "firmness" at variance with the conciliatory spirit that inspired the invitation to Mr. Molotov to meet his Western colleagues at Lugano on October 15. Washington's interest in reaching an accord with Russia may have been diminished by Adenauer's sweeping victory.

In both capitals America is thought to be moving toward a policy of imposing its own views on its allies at any cost. The Paris *Monde* said after the elections: "It is not putting it too strongly to say that in Germany as in Asia those who oppose the United States face the necessity of giving in but fear that if they do the worst will happen."

Of all the European statesmen who worked for the creation of a "little Europe," Adenauer alone has survived the present crisis of the Atlantic coalition. His two principal partners in the undertaking have been liquidated—Robert Schuman by the French, De Gasperi by the Italians. This fact has enormously increased Germany's influence and importance in the Western community. It has also strengthened the position of those Americans who say it does not matter if France and Italy do not want to go along with the United States so long as Germany and Franco Spain are "on our side." Acceptance of those countries as partners can of course only make the Atlantic coalition more unpopular in the free countries of Europe and nourish the belief that the crusade for liberty is supported by the most reactionary forces in the West. Neutralist tendencies in the rest of Europe are stimulated when the United States shows favors to a Germany which half the Continent fears and to a fascist Spain which more than half the Continent hates. The international "third force"—made up of Socialist and other anti-Communist but not clerical or reactionary elements—which American liberals had hoped would carry on the struggle against Russia from a progressive position has been smashed by the German elections.

DEUTSCHLAND UEBER ALLES

Meaning of the Bonn Vote . . *by Michel Gordey*

Bonn

A VICTORY for Konrad Adenauer in the West German elections was easy to predict. But no one, not even the "old gentleman" and his closest associates, expected such a landslide. On election night the 300 newsmen, including 150 foreign correspondents from all over the world, gathered in the huge press room of the Bonn Bundestag could only gasp in amazement as the returns started rolling in. Even in old Socialist strongholds like Hamburg and the industrial cities of the Rhineland and Ruhr, the Social Democrats hardly held their ground. In the early morning hours the picture was clear. The old gentleman had swept his party and his right-wing coalition to one of the most stunning victories in the political history of post-war Europe. Monday morning's complete returns gave Adenauer's party an absolute majority in the new Parliament. Moreover, his coalition, with the help of the Refugee Party, had now more than two-thirds of all the Bundestag seats. From now on Adenauer will be able to make all the constitutional changes he wants. The elections have given him absolute control of West Germany's domestic and foreign policies.

There were three reasons for this landslide. First, economic recovery in the past four years had been tremendous—the last figures on production, export, employment, the standard of living, and above all on housing gave the Chancellor a trump card which no opposition, however strong and shrewd, could beat. After years of misery, unemployment, and hunger, the West Germans in 1953 are well clad and well fed and enjoying much better low-rent housing. Adenauer and Minister of Economy Ehrhard could proudly point to these achievements and say, "Don't change horses in midstream." The Social Democratic opposition stressed the social injustice of this new prosperity, the contrast between the luxury of the rich and the still very modest condition of the wage-earners; and the powerful German labor federation with its 6,000,000 members threw its weight against Adenauer's reactionary social and economic policies. But the only result was to enable the Social Democrats to show about the same amount of political strength as in the last election. The huge majority of voters—the middle-class tradesmen and farmers and also quite a few workers—indorsed Adenauer's prosperity program, which was really the central issue.

THE SECOND reason was Adenauer's foreign policy. Striking posters showed the Chancellor returning from America as "the man who reestablished our links

MICHEL GORDEY, brilliant young diplomatic correspondent of France-Soir, *is the author of "Visa to Moscow."*

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with the free world." At twenty mass rallies Adenauer spoke at length on the friendship built up with America, England, and the countries of Western Europe. He pointed with pride to Germany's new and powerful place in the world and implied that all the big powers were seeking the new Germany's favors. He also explained that his policy of strength, exercised in close alliance with his friends in Washington, would force the Russians finally to "understand" that they must get out of Eastern Germany.

The German audiences loved these bragging accents of German power and these predictions of Soviet surrender to a display of strength. Night after night in Kiel, Hamburg, Frankfurt, and other cities I watched tens of thousands of men and women get up from their seats after Adenauer's speeches and sing with shining eyes and booming voices the famous words of "Deutschland Ueber Alles": "From Meuse to Memel, from Etsch to Belt." This revival of the old German nationalism was an important factor in the 1953 elections. The opposition tried in vain to show the dangers of Adenauer's plans for East-West relations. The Social Democrats reiterated that the only way to get the Russians out of Eastern Germany was to try negotiating and meanwhile postpone German rearmament. But the voters responded in overwhelming numbers to the forceful speeches of the man who gave them a sense of pride and security and a guaranty of Washington's support.

For the first time since 1945 Germans heard the country's great destiny, the bright future of German political and economic power, reaffirmed. They did not stop to think of the possible frightening consequences of Adenauer's policies. Certainly West Germans today do not want to think about war—the ruins and losses of the last war are still forceful reminders that war does not always pay even for Germans. But the opposition's advocacy of careful, peaceful policies lacked the appeal of Adenauer's references to Germany's might.

THIRD, as always in their history, the Germans were swayed by a man much more than by a political program. Adenauer's victory was a sweeping personal victory. This seventy-seven-year-old man, traveling all over the country, making several speeches a day, bearing himself like a young man, made a terrific impression on millions of Germans. His severe unsmiling face, his domineering nature, and his dynamic speeches gave the Germans a new idol just as in a recent, more dramatic time. A comparison between Adenauer's personality and that of Hitler or Hindenburg would be out of place. Adenauer is no totalitarian dictator. But his concept of democracy has nothing to do with democracy as we understand it in France, Britain, and the United States. His is a traditionally German, authoritarian approach in personal as in political matters. Here was a man Germans were ready to obey and follow. Obey and follow—the words have not lost their meaning in Germany today.

Chancellor Adenauer

The Social Democrats had no forceful leader to oppose to him. Erich Ollenhauer, the official leader of the opposition since the death of Kurt Schumacher, is a mild intellectual liberal. His failure to appeal to the imagination of the masses soon caused the Social Democrats to replace his portrait and the slogan "Ollenhauer Instead of Adenauer" on their posters by a picture of the dead Schumacher, captioned "He Warns You—Vote Social Democratic." It was just as if last year Stevenson had plastered Roosevelt's pictures on the walls of American cities. It was a sign of the coming defeat.

It should not be forgotten that the Social Democrats held their ground percentagewise and even gained a few seats. This they achieved against Adenauer, who had the support of big industry, the Catholic church, and the American State Department, not to speak of most German newspapers. However, with 150 seats in the new Bundestag the opposition has less than a third of the total number and is reduced to impotence. "From now on the only thing the Social Democrats will be allowed to do," said one of Adenauer's German henchmen, "is to scream." The first statements by Adenauer himself after the victory indicate that the "new Iron Chancellor" will have little Christian mercy on his enemies. He intends to settle accounts even with the powerful unions for their attacks on him during the campaign. He may even push through some anti-labor laws.

ADENAUER has emphasized the "complete obliteration" of the extremist parties. It is true that the Communists and neo-Nazis will not have a single seat in the Bundestag, but millions of Nazi-minded Germans gave their votes to the rightist coalition, and strong nationalist trends will be felt soon enough in the new Parliament. West German foreign policy will no doubt be based on the closest possible cooperation with Washington, especially since the Chancellor increasingly favors a tough attitude toward Moscow and has an almost mystical belief in the ultimate collapse of the evil forces in the Kremlin. Undoubtedly Adenauer will now pursue a much tougher policy toward France. Pressure will be applied from Bonn via Washington to force Paris to accept a solution of the Saar problem on terms favorable to Germany. A great clamor will be heard that France should ratify the European army treaty: Adenauer's close associates confidently expect Dulles to join this campaign. With the French people and Parliament in their present mood, such pressure may backfire very soon, disrupting even more the shaky Atlantic community.

As to the broader international implications of Adenauer's landslide, they can be summarized in one sentence uttered immediately after the official election returns were in by one of the few "trustworthy confidantes" of the Bonn Chancellor: "For all practical purposes the Big Four conference is now dead for a long time." In Western Europe the question asked these days is: Will Washington listen to Adenauer rather than to Churchill?

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FACTORIES WITHOUT MEN

New Industrial Revolution . . *by John Diebold*

[*We are on the threshold, not of the push-button era, but of an era in which buttons will push themselves. Here is the first of three articles explaining the vast social implications of this new industrial revolution, as well as the scientific principles involved. The writer, a management consultant, is a leading authority on the subject. In his recent book, "Automation—the Advent of the Automatic Factory," he describes a development which the* Christian Science Monitor *calls "an industrial adventure that is revolutionary in its potential and exhilarating in its promise."*]

WITH pilotless planes flying through our skies, bank tellers verifying check signatures by television, and "electronic brains" accurately predicting elections—at least when left to themselves—one is tempted to ask whether George Orwell may not have misdated his book. The almost daily appearance of new gadgets makes it seem that we are losing little time in creating the world that science fiction has for so long predicted. (Whether the praise belongs to the scientists for their gadgetry or to the fiction writers for their foresight is not altogether clear.)

Having learned some time ago to expect the fantastic, we are not now startled to learn that the *Wall Street Journal* sets its type electronically, or that at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a paper player-piano roll has been made to control accurately a massive milling machine. But being accustomed to the innovations of the scientist is one thing; recognizing their significance is another. Taken together these many gadgets form a pattern, and it is a pattern that will have more meaning for our individual lives and for our collective future than the double-mushroom shape of atomic explosions. For the TV baby-sitter cameras, the computing machines, and the self-operating controls are only the first hardware of a new industrial era—*the age of "automation."*

The first industrial revolution provided power-driven machinery to perform the brute labor of our society. The industrial revolution now taking place is making possible the automatic control of these industrial processes and the mechanization of much of our routine paper work. It is already clear that the social and economic effects of this new industrial revolution will be as far-reaching as were the changes set in motion by James Watt's steam engine.

"Automation" is simply a new phase in the long continuum of mechanization. Nevertheless, it is a distinct and a very important phase. As the new industrial revolution runs its course, we shall be able to operate much of our industrial plant twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week—168 hours a week rather than the present 40 hours—and at the same time to shorten the work week for the human operators and to improve the nature of jobs as well as working conditions. The resulting enormous increase in the productivity of our society is but one of the many ways in which "automation" will affect our lives. Tremendous responsibility, for example, will be placed on our educational system to prepare our children for the world in which they will live. There will be increased need to reassess the role of leisure.

Like every far-reaching social change, "automation" will bring problems of adjustment. But we cannot hope to understand the nature of these problems, much less to solve them, without first determining the direction of the process and how far it will go. "Push-button era" is the phrase commonly used to describe the present stage of "automation," but it betrays a complete lack of understanding of the extent of the development. As the London *Economist* recently pointed out, the push-button age is already obsolete; the buttons now push themselves. The new controls are truly automatic, and not simply remote devices for starting, stopping, and otherwise adjusting machines as has been done traditionally by their human attendants. Controls in the "automation" age make it possible for machines to perform involved operations without the intervention of human beings. When properly *programmed,* or instructed, these new machines can correct their own errors and can choose, according to predetermined criteria, among several courses of action.

The distinction between the significant and the merely spectacular is nowhere more important, or less well understood, than in an assessment of the future course of "automation." Automatic operation is not in itself the core of the new industrial revolution. Pub-

Push-button Factory Almost Here, 1500 Electronics Experts Told
Scientist Predicts Machine That Reproduces Itself
New Electronic Device Bring Savings
NEW 'BRAIN' EXCELS her Industry Faces
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DIGITAL COMPUTER EXPANDS 'MEMORY'
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Electronics 'Revolution' Predicted for Industry

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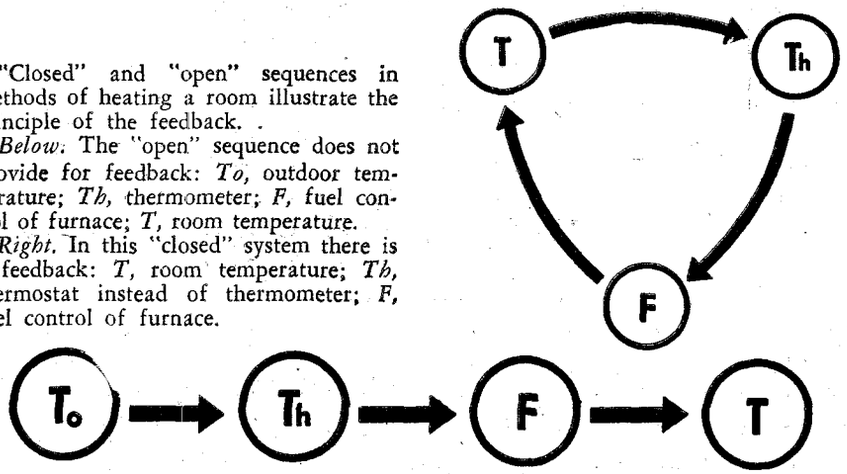

"Closed" and "open" sequences in methods of heating a room illustrate the principle of the feedback.

Below. The "open" sequence does not provide for feedback: *To,* outdoor temperature; *Th,* thermometer; *F,* fuel control of furnace; *T,* room temperature.

Right. In this "closed" system there is a feedback: *T,* room temperature; *Th,* thermostat instead of thermometer; *F,* fuel control of furnace.

Courtesy *Scientific American*

licity men to the contrary, automatic machinery is not new; and neither for that matter are wholly automatic factories. In 1784 Oliver Evans built an entirely automatic factory just outside Philadelphia—a continuous-process flour mill. Evans's mill made use of the three basic types of powered conveyors in a continuous production line. No human labor was required from the time the grain was received at the mill until it had been processed into finished flour. In 1801, in Paris, Joseph Marie Jacquard exhibited an automatic loom controlled by punched paper cards much like the punched cards used in modern office equipment. Jacquard's loom became so popular that by 1812 some 11,000 were in use in France alone. In the early 1920's the A. O. Smith Company built a fully automatic assembly line that is still operating at its Milwaukee plant for the fabrication of automobile body frames.

IF AUTOMATIC machinery is not the important fact of "automation," what is? The electronic computer has been hailed by many as the cornerstone of the second industrial revolution. Its ability to handle vast quantities of data at fantastic speeds, and consequently to act as a kind of super-control, tempts one to give it equal importance with James Watt's steam engine. But "automation" is too fundamental a development to be symbolized by any one piece of hardware, however magnificent that invention.

The basic concept underlying "automation" is the feedback. By application of this principle a self-regulatory control system can be created. Variations in the quality being controlled, your living-room temperature, for example, can be made to produce changes in the device controlling that quality—in this instance, your furnace. The result is a fully automatic and self-correcting system.

In the manufacture of machine tools, feedback makes possible control of the machine under actual operating conditions rather than under predetermined or ideal conditions. For example, if the operations of an "automatic" machine are controlled solely by a cam, no allowance is made for any defect in the piece being worked on. The machine stops or goes on to another operation after a predetermined time interval whether or not the workpiece is down to size. In a control system using feedback, however, extra cutting time is allowed if a hard spot is encountered.

A control system using feedback is known as a closed-loop system: operation of the control device is dependent upon the performance that it controls. In the open-loop system, the control mechanism is independent of the process being controlled. Many devices that we think of as automatic are of the open-loop kind. For example, the clockwork mechanism by which a street lamp is turned on at the same hour every day operates independently of the condition of illumination, for if an afternoon thunderstorm darkens the sky the light does not go on any earlier. Open-loop controls will undoubtedly continue to be used—even fifty years from now irons are scarcely likely to turn themselves on when our clothes become wrinkled—but fundamentally "automation" is the process of closing the control loops of industry.

The concept of feedback is not new. It was used in the construction of early windmills to keep the sails, or blades, facing into the wind. It was the basis of the fly-ball governor that James Watt designed in 1788 to control the speed of his steam engine; as the engine's work load changed, the steam flow was automatically adjusted. Ships' steering engines have used a feedback system since the middle of the nineteenth century to insure a constant angle of rudder turn for each turn of the ship's wheel, regardless of sea conditions. But until recently the development of such devices has been sporadic and has depended upon the ingenuity of individual inventors. Automatic mechanisms have consequently been built for the performance of only a limited number of tasks.

DURING the last ten or fifteen years, however, progress in electronics, communications, and electric-network analysis has made possible the mathematical formulation of a basic theory of communication and control, which in turn has facilitated the construction of a large variety of self-correcting machines. It is the universal availability of the simple principle of feedback, rather than the giant computers, that has lifted the idea of the completely automatic office and factory from the realm of science fiction to that of industrial possibility.

The new technology of "automation" not only permits closing the control loops of individual machines but also makes possible the over-all control of the group of machines constituting the factory. We should be able today to construct fully automatic factories in which the tasks of machine supervision, inspection, and materials-handling, as well as the actual fabrication, are performed by machines, not men. Moreover, by means of an entirely new family of machines, the electronic digital computer, paper work can be mechanized—record keeping, production planning, inventory taking, ordering, billing, pay-roll compilation, and check writing. This time the revolution is affecting the office as well as the plant.

Effective industrial use of the technology of "automation" requires the solution of numerous problems, not all of them technical. These problems will be discussed in the second article of this series.

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As Fitzpatrick Saw It

D. R. FITZPATRICK has been producing six or seven cartoons a week for the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* for forty years. That should give the mathematical-minded something to think about. Out of this prolific output, 311 have been collected in a book called "As I Saw It" (Simon and Schuster, $5), for which Joseph Pulitzer has written a foreword, Thomas B. Sherman a biographical introduction, and the cartoonist himself a running commentary on his work. As one way of reviewing the book, we are reproducing a few samples of its contents.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Fitzpatrick by Low

"It Seems There Wasn't Any Depression at All"
(December 18, 1935)

As America Goes, So Goes the World
(January 4, 1953)

"We Feared You More Than We Feared Hitler"
(July 2, 1940)

The Practical Mr. Nixon
(September 21, 1952)

"Extr-e-e, Extr-e-e, All About the Two-Party System"
(September 9, 1952)

On the Just and on the Unjust
(June 12, 1949)

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SEX, SEX, SEX, AND THE WORLD CRISIS

Reflections on Kinsey . . . *by George Milburn*

IT SEEMS only yesterday, but in point of fact several weeks have passed since the rubric K-Day dawned. Although a vast patrol of pundits was assigned to prepare the public for the main event, not one gazer into the crowded crystal ball rose to predict that such a dog day would be one of those days on which all the big news breaks at once: the Soviet H-bomb blast was verified; Mossadegh surrendered; the Sultan of Morocco was ousted; Adlai Stevenson ended his globe-girdling trip with a portentous statement. Nevertheless, the top headlines of the day were left on a boiler-plate story with a Bloomington, Indiana, date line.

If the news behind the news is to be known, however, the ugly contretemps did create a certain amount of confusion on newspaper make-up stones across the land. More than a hundred highly paid correspondents had gone into summer quarters on the University of Indiana campus under as deep a hush-hush as ever prevailed at Oak Ridge—all to read and digest the advance galleys of a book which everyone acknowledged, under dire oaths of secrecy, was so explosive as to make the tests on the Nevada flats look like the fireworks display of a county fair.

Hence many newspaper readers will readily appreciate why the following report of a *crime passionnel* which would have hit the front pages—of the livelier tabloids, at least—on any ordinary day was crowded out on K-Day completely. The police made a thorough investigation and discovered that the home, as so many American homes are nowadays, had been wired for sound. Through the generosity of the police department, now that it is no longer news, we are enabled to reconstruct what happened in the Malone household on K-Day.

GEORGE MILBURN, author of "Catalogue" and other books, conducts a fiction seminar at New York University.

Malone came home that afternoon and found his good wife up to her *astragali* in a spate of newspapers and magazines. There was no smell of cooking anywhere.

"Oh, darling!" Malone's good wife exclaimed without lifting her eyes from the September *Woman's Home Companion* and its complete report on what Kinsey learned about women. "I'm so glad you're home! I've been dying to ask you—what's all this publicity build-up for the Kinsey report on women all about?"

"Sweetheart," Malone said, caressing his paunch, "my omniscience works better after I've had a bite to eat. What's for supper?"

"Oh, you and your four-bit words and your preoccupation with your gut," Mrs. Malone said, slinging down the magazine she had been reading on top of the heap about her. "When someone asks you a direct question, why can't you give a direct answer?"

"Maybe you'd understand me better if I used the Kinsey code," Malone said, picking up a copy of *Collier's*, the cover of which bore a portrait of the good Doctor Kinsey himself in full color, using his *digit muliebris* as a fulcrum for an old-fashioned nickel lead pencil, on the pointed end of which stood a statuette of Venus de Milo in perfect balance with Apollo Belvedere on the rubber end. The caption read: Kinsey —On the Difference between Men and Women.

Malone began thrumming between his teeth the tune of an old folk song, popular in the '20's, entitled "Don't Tell Me What You Dreamt Last Night, 'Cause I Been Reading Freud."

"Stop that disgusting whistling," his good wife commanded, "and if you've got a thought in your head, which I doubt, let me hear it!"

"Well, if you actually want to know what *I* think, honeybunch," Malone pontificated as he leafed through a copy of *Look;* "I think the reaction to the Kinsey report on women represents the bankruptcy of the American middle class."

"Bankruptcy!" she snorted. "Who's going to pay $8 for a book like that!"

"You mistake me, lover," Malone said. "I'm talking about moral bankruptcy—not financial! Although you might permit me to say that you've already spent on newspapers and magazines as much as the complete Kinsey report would cost."

"So what? Are you trying to keep me from keeping up with what's going on?"

"Not at all! But just by a rough calculation of the newspapers and magazines you've got around you there, the prices on them, I mean, I figure that you could have got a lot of potatoes and beans and onions for the same money at the nearest supermarket."

"Stop it!" his wife yelled. "Why must you always be so crass? Didn't you pay $6.50 for Kinsey's report on men, five years ago? And turned the wrapper on it and it stood around here propping up the book ends with only the blank side showing?"

"Yeah, Kinsey's Report on Men," Malone said thoughtfully, prowling the bookshelves. "We still got that here?"

"No, I gave it to the Salvation Army when they came up to take the old couch and that beat-up set of Dickens."

"Honeybunch," Malone said mourn-

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fully. "You seem to be taking the wrong approach to Kinsey. I don't think we ought to *give* his books away."

There was a brief silence, after which Malone asked in a tender tone, "You want me to go on and elucidate, sweetie?"

"Go on," his wife said. "I'm listening."

"So I stopped into the liquor store to pick up a pint—which, by God, I'm going to hit right after we get through discussing Kinsey—and Mr. Michaelis, the proprietor, who proves to be a disciple of Daniel de Leon, gives me a long spiel about the Kinsey report being a diversion to keep people from meeting their main problems. Mr. Michaelis waved his hands and said, 'Sex is something we've known about for two thousand years. Bread and circuses,' he says. 'You get it?' he said to me."

"I don't, but keep on talking," she said, lying back in the arm chair with her eyes closed.

"Well, then, let me give it to you in a capsule. I don't know what the Kinsey Report on the Sexual Behavior of the Human Female is all about—but it seems to me that the Federal Trade Commission would have a strong case against him for flagrant mislabeling of a product." Malone shrugged. "At least he interviewed some five thousand white women in the Northeastern corner of the United States. I remember myself, several years ago, when he was staying at the Astor and all the little girls in our office chased over there and stood in line to register for an interview with Dr. Kinsey."

"Yes," Mrs. Malone said wearily. "I wish I'd had a chance to talk to Dr. Kinsey, myself."

"Oh, you would, eh? And what would you have told him?"

"Plenty."

"Yeah, I don't doubt for a moment that you would have, kiddo. But I'll venture to say that the Kinsey report on women doesn't say anything more than Somerset Maugham's gynecology professor used to say away back yonder in the '80's when he opened his course of lectures."

"What did he say?"

"Let's see if I can recall it—" Malone put a hand to his cheek and pondered before he began reciting, " 'Gentlemen, woman is a creature that micturates once a day, defecates once a week, menstruates once a month, parturates once a year, and copulates whenever she has the opportunity!"

"Why, what a perfectly disgusting thing to say about women!" Mrs. Malone gasped.

"Yes," Malone said happily, "but don't you agree with Maugham that it it is a prettily balanced sentence?"

Just then on the sound recording there was a shriek and a yell, followed by some inarticulate words and heavy breathing, moans, and gargles. As police reconstruct the case, it was at this point that Malone's wife stabbed him with the scissors while he got his hands on her throat.

THE FARM BLOC

And Your Food Dollar . . . *by Robert Engler*

ON AUGUST 14 wheat farmers voted overwhelmingly to continue price supports. By so doing they accepted controlled production through acreage allotments and marketing quotas. The New York *Times* front-page dispatch of that date recalled the Administration's desire that agriculture return to natural economic laws; in the next morning's report by the same writer the G. O .P. "hailed" the decision.

Political realism and falling prices had trumped pious morality and economic ideology. Farmers were apparently reluctant to live by the Secretary of Agriculture's faith that the "spur of insecurity" forces a man to do his best, that no "real American wants to be subsidized," that give-away government programs destroy initiative and undermine moral and spiritual values. The vote was also a slap at the leadership of several of the commodity groups as well as at the American Farm Bureau Federation. Confident that big and efficient agriculture can survive in a free market with flexible supports and not reluctant to see the "inefficient" drop by the wayside, the Farm Bureau, like the Secretary, remained "neutral." The National Grange indicated its distaste for continuing such a program but in the face of large crops accepted it as a "necessary evil." The third and smallest of the major farm groups, the Farmers' Union, went all out in urging its predominantly wheat membership to vote yes. But if the result jarred the bankers, food processors, and corporation farmers advising Benson who interpret the 1952 Presidential vote as a mandate to take the government out of agriculture, it did serve to get off the hook practical-minded Republicans on the Hill worried about $1.20 wheat and 1954 elections.

Falling income and the specter of another depression led the farmers once more to seek the protection of a "welfare state." But urban consumers, whose representatives in Congress have helped make possible such support programs, have no assurance that legislators from rural areas will now be more concerned about their welfare. The cost of living has reached an all-time high. Bread prices have gone up despite the fall in wheat prices. If the consumer is reluctant to blame the farmer he might speculate as to what extent middleman costs are a major factor. But a rider to the Federal Trade Commission's appropriation bill, upheld by a forty-five-to-thirty Senate vote, specifically prohibits the F. T. C. from making any study to trace the consumer's food dollar. In the Eighty-third Congress, as in previous years, many rural legislators of both parties have joined with big-business spokesmen to prevent such studies, while

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slashing at price and rent controls, public housing, and labor safeguards.

It was the combination of such behavior and the rising cost of living that recently provoked Representative Javits, liberal New York Republican, to call for a reexamination of the price-support program. Similar resentment against this alignment for defeating public housing last year caused Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr. (D., N. Y.), to warn his colleagues that "as a representative of a city district I have continually preached to my people that we must help support the farm and rural areas of this country, because we can be prosperous only if the whole country is prosperous; but the day is coming . . . when my people will not listen to that any more and they will misunderstand if I continue to support the farm programs."

Urban exasperation with rural political power is not a new phenomenon in the United States, but it has seldom been translated into effective action. Romantic concepts about agriculture remain among our most enduring myths, though we live in an industrial age. Hardiest of these is the simple identification of the rural way of life with the democratic spirit, a belief which extends far back into the American heritage.

Few such romantic associations cluster around the large commercial farm or the farm bloc, but agriculture as big business is rapidly becoming the pattern, with less than one-third of the nation's farms producing some 80 per cent of the total food and fiber. The farm bloc is a coalition of agricultural organizations, responsive legislators, and other public officials whose concern is primarily for the dollars and the votes of the farmers and processors. It constitutes a powerful minority in public affairs and is more and more taking on the characteristics of the industrial giants with which it frequently teams up on legislative issues.

HOW FAR these forces challenge the pleasanter assumptions about farming and democracy has been forcibly brought home by a series of events involving the Grange and the railroads. Early last year a full-page advertisement sponsored by the Eastern Railroad Presidents' Conference appeared in metropolitan newspapers. It featured a letter from Hershel Newsom, master of the National

Grange, to the chairman of the railroad organization. The head of the nation's oldest and second-largest farm organization wrote that the "National Grange now feels that our entire transportation policy should be carefully reexamined" so as to encourage the most efficient use of all forms of transportation "on the free-enterprise basis and with the least governmental regulation."

The National Grange was a leader in the late nineteenth-century movement that sought a measure of public control over the railroads; it fought excessive and inequitable freight rates. Out of this pressure came the decision of state governments to regulate the railroads and eventually the establishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission. These so-called "Granger" acts provided a first illustration of the potentialities of farmers organized for political action.

That the National Grange has long since abandoned any meaningful concern over the concentration of economic power is no secret. But allowing its name to be used on the eve of the freight-rate hearings before the Interstate Commerce Commission was a public declaration of the growing big-business orientation of this segment of agricultural leadership. On April 14, 1952, the railroads won the increase—their eleventh since the end of the war.

Public-relations men for the railroads have planned a full-scale campaign to win farmer sympathy, complete with radio programs, "disinterested" speakers, pie-baking contests, and apple queens. At the height of the railroads' drive for a rate-increase law earlier this year, the July, 1953, issue of the *Grange Monthly* blossomed forth with ten large railroad advertisements, worth $7,170 at the Grange advertising rate. The three leading articles paid tribute to the railroad industry. It is interesting to note that in the past the *Grange* has used articles emanating from Carl Byoir and Associates, public-relations firm for the Eastern railroads, which are seeking to discredit the trucking industry. In the April, 1952, issue, for example, an article emphasizing the harm trucks do to our roads was expected, according to the Byoir people, "to reach the group the account was most concerned about, namely the farmer."

MORE IMPORTANT to the average citizen has been the performance of big agriculture in the area of price controls. Cotton, cattle, milk, and other commodity interests joined with the food-processing industries, the powerful National Council of Farm Cooperatives (Mr. Benson was once its executive secretary), the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Association of Real Estate Boards, and like-minded groups to prevent rollbacks and emasculate price controls. Three sympathetic Cornell professors of agriculture—one was to become a Benson adviser—provided the housewife with the learned explanation that during war "rising prices of certain products are highly beneficial. . . . What this nation needs is more of the so-called chiselers who know and understand how high prices stimulate production, create opposition to communism, divert resources from Russia and her satellites, and reduce civilian consumption."

Sparking this drive has been the American Farm Bureau Federation, the nation's largest farm group. Although designed to help spread information to farmers, the first Farm Bureau was founded by a New York State Chamber of Commerce and the Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad; other Farm Bureaus were started with financial help from boards of trade, railroads, and similar groups not generally noted for their kinship with dirt farmers. Viewing farming as an industry, the Farm Bureau has achieved many gains for agriculture while maintaining harmonious relations with organized business.

The general philosophy of these farm organizations is probably best revealed in the recurring fights over farm-labor legislation. Hostile to all attempts to provide decent standards for migrant workers who help make corporate farming so profitable, they demand and get

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guaranties for a cheap and ready reservoir of farm labor from Mexico and from underdeveloped and underemployed farm areas in this country. And there is no need for a field trip to discover how they operate. The answer can be found on Capitol Hill and in the Departments of Labor and Agriculture.

These farm-bloc activities in the areas of price control and farm labor have brought responses which agriculture might do well to heed. At its 1951 convention the C. I. O. declared that "it is a cause of grave concern to us when the views of those who claim a predominant right to speak for the farmers of America increasingly echo N. A. M. dogma, while sympathy and understanding of the needs and aspirations of all working people is hardly manifested at all." This stand paralleled an announcement by the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. that it was severing friendly relations with the American Farm Bureau and the Grange: "On economic issues of vital concern to the national welfare it has become difficult to discern any major difference between the policy of the American Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange on the one hand, and that of the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce on the other," explained President Green. Declaring that farm-bloc policies were "dictated by the big corporate farms closely allied with big-business interests" instead of being representative of the attitude of most farmers, the A. F. of L. served notice that it was "not appeasing them any longer."

The American farmer may be riding for a political and economic fall if he does not become more alert to the positions taken by his organizations and reconsider his own political behavior. The basic agricultural reforms adopted since 1933, primarily helping upper- and middle-income farmers, who, save in the South, tend to support the Republican Party, have been passed with the active backing of urban and labor Congressmen. Yet agricultural Congressmen generally join with the representatives of big industry in fighting labor and welfare legislation. That certain Midwest agricultural states did vote for Truman in 1948 is significant, indicating the hold of New Deal gains and fear of declining farm prices. Interpreting the 1952 Eisenhower vote as a repudiation of price supports, farm credit, rural-electrification programs, and power and conservation projects may prove disastrous for farm Congressmen.

Reinforcing these warnings from labor are the latest Census Bureau statistics. In a steady downward trend the current farm population of 23,250,000 is a distinct minority of our 160,000,000 population. Of our total labor force of 63,000,000, some 8,750,000 are in the farm population, but only 5,825,000 of these are employed in agriculture. As former Secretary of Agriculture Brannan remarked, this means "agriculture can't just stand up and say this we want and this we take whether anybody wants us to or not."

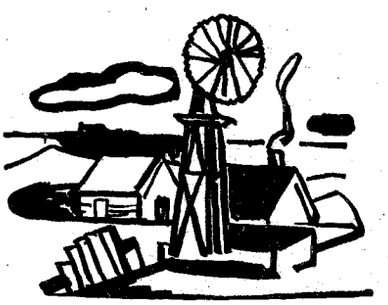
A BASIC QUESTION is who represents agriculture. Claiming a membership of nearly a million and a half farm families, the Farm Bureau views itself as the "real voice of agriculture" with the responsibility of letting Congress know what the farmer thinks. Relying heavily on its power at the local level and its strong legislative influence, the Bureau is suspicious of all Department of Agriculture attempts to take the lead in agricultural affairs.

Although the Grange claims a membership of well over three-quarters of a million and wields considerable influence, its general conservatism and passivity preclude any leadership role. To the Farmers' Union, agriculture is a way of life, and family farming, with its deep democratic roots, should be preserved through a full governmental program, including price supports at 100 per cent of parity. Its sympathy for organized labor and comprehension of the needs of the economy are reflected in its drive for full-employment legislation, compulsory health insurance, and anti-trust regulation. Influential in the New and Fair Deal administrations, it has never exerted great power in Congress. It is handicapped by a small membership—fewer than 200,000 farm families—and a heavily one-crop and sectional base. Since cotton farmers have some of the same problems as wheat farmers, the Farmers' Union attempt to woo Southern support, often a dissident element in the Farm Bureau, has possibilities of success.

Most farmers belong to no general farm group, notwithstanding the multiplicity of farm, commodity, and cooperative associations. And no group fights for all farmers. The third of our agricultural population who are living on too small farms and receive inadequate incomes lack any effective voice. With the exception of the Farmers' Union, farm spokesmen appear interested in their fate only to the extent of forcing them out of agriculture. Whether the solution be in greater opportunity within agriculture—a debatable approach in the light of agriculture's increasing productivity despite the diminishing number of farms (5,382,000) and the increasing size and cost of the average farm (215.3 acres)—or in industrial rehabilitation, concrete programs must be advanced and undertaken.

Agriculture is increasingly a part of our industrial society, and must be so viewed. Current high levels of production must be examined in the light of growing domestic and world needs before they are hastily labeled surplus. Firm price supports may not be the best long-run solution; one factor in judging this is the worth we find in the institution of the family farm. (It should be remembered that we subsidize liberally the press, transportation, and other areas of our economy.) Alternative farm policies consistent with the values of a democratic society should be explored. Unfortunately, agricultural-policy formulation has become the product of private bipartisan political deals among the narrow farm interests that dominate the Congressional committees and much of the Department of Agriculture.

The public is penalized by high taxes and high prices. This is a far cry from agriculture as the seedbed of democracy and free enterprise. Taking policy out of the exclusive hands of the farm bloc and bringing it into the arena of public discussion and party responsibility would be a first step toward making such myths realities in 1953.



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BOOKS

The Enchanted Ring

WILLA CATHER. A MEMOIR. By Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.50.

WILLA CATHER LIVING. By Edith Lewis. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

WILLA CATHER. A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY. By E. K. Brown. Completed by Leon Edel. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

By Maxwell Geismar

IN THE tumult of contemporary writing—broken careers, sell-outs, disappointed hopes, fading talents, failure—Willa Cather's achievement seems even more secure as we draw away from it. Compared with late Hemingway and late Faulkner, she looks pretty good; and one could go on through the list of bright stars of the past who flicker so fitfully today and from whom, I think, we can expect very little. But just because Willa Cather's life and work appear so remote from the distractions and disorders of her own period—because she so carefully suppressed all evidence of her own conflicts—she is an aloof, mysterious figure. She manages to be at once rather chilling and somewhat stuffy.

These three studies do not really dispel the aura of reticence and self-imposed solemnity. Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant is perhaps most openly critical of her early friend and literary mentor, whom she met at *McClure's* magazine in 1910, during the heyday of the muckrakers. Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell had just resigned when Miss Sergeant, fresh from Bryn Mawr, bearing her thesis on the toilers of the tenements, first encountered the "powerful, almost masculine personality" who was to take over the magazine and turn it as best she could towards the purer atmosphere of art. "Send the working girls to the *Atlantic*," the new editor remarked to her friend. And this was the epitaph for an epoch, as well as for a magazine, so far as Willa Cather was concerned.

Miss Sergeant's book is rather sharp about Miss Cather's respect for "wealth and swagger," her recurrent fear of "dying in a cornfield," her early and neurotic hatred of the Nebraska scene which she was later, almost as an act of atonement, to idylize. But for the years of the writer's maturity and literary achievement Edith Lewis's memoir, within its own limits, is more informative. Miss Lewis was Willa Cather's closest friend and daily companion; she was almost, if one may dare thus to speak about the half-sacred province of this artist's private existence, a sort of Alice Toklas to Miss Cather's Stein. Here we begin to feel, too, the gradual constriction of Miss Cather's later life—that "concentration" which produced such magical effects in her books and demanded, apparently, her withdrawal from so many forms of mature experience, personal and cultural.

HER ART was her life. But her life, ever narrowing into a circle of nostalgia that included only the past, and almost a child's view of the past, also restricted her art, which obtained its effects by exclusion, as she knew. This theme is clear in the best of these three books, E. K. Brown's authorized biography, which is, one must add, a model of its class, and admirably completed and edited, after Professor Brown's death, by Leon Edel. More scholarly than the ladies, more objective, and concerned with an analysis of Willa Cather's work as well as her life, Brown also describes her early belief in the "artist," alone in a hostile society, superior to human follies, fleeing from ugliness and monotony to "things of beauty and enchantment." This was her adolescent conviction, and perhaps her tragic flaw.

The typical portraits of Miss Cather in these volumes—the white middy blouse and black tie, the childlike arrangement of the hair—confirm this impression of adolescent revolt that drew inexorably into her "quest for antiquity"; for order and security (and comfort) in a medieval Catholic universe that had never quite existed in the Southwest of "Death Comes for the Archbishop" or the Quebec of "Shadows on the Rock." Brown also notices that not only is Antonia viewed through the eyes of Jim Burden, but the lost lady herself—Mrs. Forrester—is described by practically the same young Western observer, whose sexual disenchantment occurs when he hears a woman's laugh in the dark. The question is not purely one of aesthetic form but of the psychological impulse that suggested this form. It is not just a masculine view of these famous heroines that Willa Cather preferred to use—but an *innocent* view.

Yet Brown's biography in turn hardly does justice to the whole tragic withdrawal in Miss Cather's life at its high point of fame and achievement. What was the real meaning of this abdication which included not only sexual and social but almost a complete human renunciation? What was that wound of hers, so familiar in her stories, which, "healed and hardened and hopeless," as she said about her protagonist in "The Professor's House," impelled him toward suicide and a sort of desperate religious salvation? "He did not regret his life, but he was indifferent to it." This was perhaps the true conclusion of the artist's lifelong dedication to that enchanted ring of art—and of the past—in which finally there was hardly room for a human being to breathe.

Future critics will have to interpret such questions as these, about both the writer's life and her work, to get the full portrait. It is interesting also to compare Willa Cather's career with Ellen Glasgow's successful struggle to break through both that "enchanted fairy-ring" of the Old South, where no truth ever entered, and the neurotic armor she felt in her own temperament. These two great ladies of contemporary American letters are usually discussed as though they lived in different cultures or on separate astral orbits. (There is no mention of Miss Glasgow, so far as I know, in all of Willa Cather's writings, and very little in the present biographies.) Yet they throw a natural light upon each other.

MAXWELL GEISMAR, literary historian and critic, is a contributing editor of The Nation. *"Rebels and Ancestors," the third volume of his series on American novelists, has just been published.*

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New Books in Brief

On Educational Theories

THE CONFLICT IN EDUCATION IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. By Robert M. Hutchins. Harper. $2.

In his usual pungent fashion the former president and chancellor of the University of Chicago presents six lectures analyzing prevailing theories of education. Listing these theories as adaptation, immediate needs, social reform, and "the doctrine that we need no doctrine at all," Mr. Hutchins indicates the impact of each and offers an alternative. Whether one agrees in detail or not, it is impossible to follow the argument without experiencing that stimulation which is the contribution of a significant book. In the belief that other nations may be tempted to imitate the American educational system, Hutchins queries "whether America has become rich and powerful because of her educational system or in spite of it." When college administrators "welcome" legislative investigations and devote their energies to public relations which seem to entail placating the orthodox and powerful, it is heartening to be reminded that a university is "a center of independent thought" with the function of criticizing the culture. A fact obvious to some but worth underscoring is that "there is not much danger to our youth from the improprieties of their instructors or the radical views that they may entertain. . . . A far greater danger is that the majority will exert pressure on the educational system for indoctrination in and compulsory adoption of the majority opinion."

Eliot Learned from Him

JULES LAFORGUE AND THE IRONIC INHERITANCE. By Warren Ramsey. Oxford. $5.

Most early readers of early volumes by Eliot and Huxley would have found those authors less startling if they had known the poetry published in France some two generations earlier by the Baudelarian dandy and symbolist manqué who is the subject of this study. Huxley's lovers, "quietly sweating palm to palm," and Eliot's metaphor, "like a patient etherized on a table," would never have existed had their authors not learned from Laforgue, who died at twenty-seven, the trick of confronting emotion with physiology and comparing states of the soul with the most trivial and banal aspects of contemporary life. This first study in English is not only biographical and critical but comparative, containing an extended treatment of Laforgue's influence on such other moderns as Pound and Crane as well as on Eliot. It also deals interestingly with the whole subject of the "new" poetry in France toward the end of the last century. Originally a doctoral dissertation, it was awarded the annual Oxford Press–Modern Language Association prize.

New Light on Chekhov

CHEKHOV. A Life by David Magarshak. Grove Press. $6.

Chekhov's life, though undermined by an incurable illness—he died at the age of forty-four—was that of an average intellectual of his time and was marked by few colorful incidents. To overcome this handicap, his biographer, an English student of Russian literature, has concentrated on Chekhov's literary activities and used as sources chiefly the writer's letters, which are extremely valuable and self-explanatory material. Although Mr. Magarshak's own contribution to the interpretation of Chekhov's personality and work is neither illuminating nor deep, his book is a useful factual survey and often considers points that have not been given sufficient attention in other critical studies. For instance, it offers many particulars about Chekhov's interest in Tolstoy's moral preaching and about his final rejection of Tolstoyan religious "non-resistance to evil by violence." This rejection, by the way, is another piece of evidence against the claim that Chekhov was "politically aloof." It is true that he refused to join any of the contending factions in the Russian intelligentsia and was highly critical of all political parties, but he held strong liberal convictions and knew how to defend them with firmness and dignity:

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when Czar Nicholas II annulled Gorky's election to the Imperial Academy, Chekhov was one of the two academicians who protested by resigning. The vigorous stand Chekhov took in the Dreyfus affair shocked and frightened some of his conservative friends. Many other significant details about the Russian story-teller and playwright are included in this interesting biography.

Tremendous Poet

THE GYPSY BALLADS OF GARCIA LORCA. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Indiana. $2.75.

Rolfe Humphries's present version of the "Gypsy Ballads"—to which he has added three Historical Ballads—is largely a reprint from the last chapter of "The Poet in New York" published in 1940. In the years between he has considerably touched up and improved the weak spots in his earlier versions.

Thus the line "Huye, luna, luna, luna," mangled in 1940 as "Ah, flee, Moon, Moon, ah, flee," has become, much more winningly, "Runaway, run away, Moon!" And thus in the poem titled Fracas the line "El toro de la reyerta," originally "The bull of the argument," has taken on real form and substance as "The great bull of the brawl." The only revision that strikes me as unhappy occurs in a passage from The Gypsy Nun which earlier read "A dull and distant murmur/Undoes her white apparel." In the new version "loosens" has been substituted for "undoes," whereby a very usable double meaning is lost.

Cavils aside, however, Humphries's poetic bookkeeping does well by Lorca, if my limping Spanish may attest. For though Humphries takes many liberties word for word, he does keep the poetic construct of the poem in mind, and without flagrant disregard for the actual wording wisely goes for the image and the motion.

The result is a good experience of Lorca in English. The strange and flashing images—"Far off the church is growling/Like a bear belly up," or "The inkwells of the cities/Pour out their thickness, slowly"—and the abrupt rhythms of Lorca pass into English with no sense of clerical violence. And what a tremendous poet Lorca is! To read him is to discover again that the eye is part of the mind.

Individuals and Symbols

THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI. By Howard Fast. Blue Heron Press. $3.

When Howard Fast's "Spartacus" appeared, it was good to see a better treatment of the Roman slave revolt than that of Arthur Koestler. In the same way it may be hoped that some day a better novel about Sacco and Vanzetti than this will be written—but until that day comes, this one will do.

Fast's sincerity makes his work convincing and moving, but his symbols are too pat and his portrayals too much in black and white to be entirely successful for material of the recent past. The material is on the same level as the American mythology of Stephen Vincent Benét but much more difficult to write about without anger.

The book recounts the last eighteen hours in the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti, with glimpses of the stir they made in the world and long close-ups of the principals in their story, distorted a bit, but impressive and in the direction of truth. Sacco and Vanzetti are the symbol about which men take sides; yet each is well characterized and stands for something as an individual.

A clear and complete picture of the whole case is given—from one side, of course—without interruption to the pace and feeling of their last day, which grows in intensity to despair and ends as calm as death. The flashbacks are smooth, and the evidence is summarized through a very clever device. Fast is deft in going right up to the brink of the ridiculous and not falling over: the persecutors have bad dreams or bad conscience, but it seems reasonable that they should. He is wise in quoting, or near-quoting, all the actual participants, for in that day of truth each man revealed his character in his words, and Vanzetti was a more moving writer than even Howard Fast.

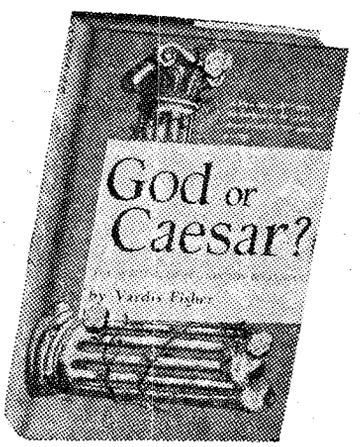
The Struggle Against Sectarianism

CHURCH, STATE AND FREEDOM. By Leo Pfeffer. Beacon. $10.

With ministers' pay lagging so far behind that of other professions, it is tragic indeed that this magnificent 606-page book costs $10 a copy. A veritable library of studies on the history of religious freedom and current practices in church-state relations, it should be on the bookshelf of every working pastor in America—and of thousands of lay officers in our churches.

Dr. Pfeffer first recounts with fascinating detail the history of church-state relations in Europe up to the time the United States Constitution was adopted, a story of persecution, bloodshed, hatred, and war, all in the name of God and the Prince of Peace. He continues with a candid and alarming rehearsal of evidence about church interference in public education in this country, state subsidies to church organizations, the incredible sophistries of school boards seeking to justify religious observances and teaching at the taxpayers' expense, and the government's employment of religious customs in Congress, the armed forces, and the courts.

The grim finding on what happens to religious freedom when either church or state seeks to dominate the other are



Should the young writer follow "God" or "Caesar"?

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presented very impressively. The McCallum case, the Melish case, the Zorach case, the struggles of Horace Mann, the frank hostility of the Catholic church to public education of any kind, the Vatican-ambassador issue, and scores of other examples are discussed to the reader's immense enrichment. The Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic positions are justly and objectively presented. I know of no other book in which mankind's struggle against sectarianism has been told more completely.

The author shows that post-war church-state relations in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, as well as earlier experiments in the Soviet Union, reveal the dangers of state aid to churches even in a socialist society. It will be of interest to many readers to discover that the new state of Israel has so far been unable to adopt a constitution primarily because of the explosive issue of religious freedom: the leaders of the Knesset find our own First Amendment prematurely Utopian. Sweden and other Lutheran-dominated countries have only recently made partial efforts to mitigate the evils of sectarianism by the state, evils so long deplored by Protestants in Catholic Spain, Italy, and Latin American countries. The First Amendment with its wall of separation between church and state remains the high-water mark in man's effort to protect the religious conscience.

Little Masterpieces

LITTLE NOVELS OF SICILY. By Giovanni Verga. Translated by D. H. Lawrence. Grace Press. $3.

These beautiful stories of Sicily in the 1860's are not only "little novels" a very accurate title in this case. They are little masterpieces which deserve recognition on the same artistic level as the stories of Turgenev or Chekhov. Verga is closer temperamentally to the peasant life he writes about—and what a life. The stories take up informally, and always in human terms, the role of the church and the nobility, of law, medicine, and education, in a sick, backward country where even Garibaldi's revolution meant only more misery. "If they'd told me what liberty was like—!" stammers one of these farmers as he is led to the gallows. Yet Verga's people are full of dignity and drama, rich in feeling, at the farthest extremes of desperation. The stories combine the grotesque, the heart-breaking, and the comic texture of the society they describe. The translation is excellent.

On Fiction Writing

GOD OR CAESAR. By Vardis Fisher. Caxton. $5.

A book for beginners on the craft of fiction writing by the author of over a dozen novels. Fisher has read widely and quotes freely, but he is almost immodestly self-indulgent in displaying his prejudices and his resentment against reviewers who have treated him roughly in the past. The result is a book that is stimulating, aggravating, and at times wonderfully wrong-headed.

A Quaint Cult

THE PEOPLE CALLED SHAKERS. By Edward Deming Andrews. Oxford. $6.

An excellent history of one of the most interesting of American religious cults. Brought to this country in 1774 from England by Mother Ann Lee, the quaint doctrines fell on soil already prepared by the Great Awakening initiated by Jonathan Edwards and stimulated by Whitefield. After an initial period of persecution, the order flourished and at one time had six thousand members living in eighteen communities. Celibacy was strictly observed, for "he that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord," and emotional release was obtained through violent ritual dancing. All goods were held in common, hard physical work was expected of everyone, special skills were encouraged, and before long the Shaker communities were famous for their prosperity and for the excellence of their products. After the Civil War the order dwindled away for a variety of reasons and has now virtually died out.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

ABOUT once a year I get a letter questioning my practice of discussing other critics' opinions. One interesting thing about this is that there would be no such question if I discussed a book by one of these critics—even a book that was a collection of his newspaper reviews; what is objected to is my discussing the reviews when they appear in the newspaper; and this distinction is obviously absurd. But no more absurd, surely, than the idea that the critic is to evaluate what the artist does, but nobody is to evaluate what the critic writes about the artist. And if it is conceded that his writing is subject to evaluation, who is to evaluate it if not another specialist in the field? Is the rule for music critics to be different from the rule for historians, anthropologists, and philosophers, who are considered to be the right ones to evaluate each other's writings? Or different from the rule for literary critics, who constantly discuss each other's ideas?

All this aside from the fact that as someone intensely interested in music I am bound to be interested in what is written about it—to get pleasure from an illuminating statement, pain from a misleadingly unperceptive one. And the ideas about music published in books, magazine articles, newspaper concert reviews, record blurbs are a part of the musical scene that it is the critic's function to comment on—an especially important part since it affects people's understanding and thus influences the rest of the scene. If it is the critic's duty to object to a performance that gives people a false idea of a piece of music, it is equally his duty to object to a statement which gives them a false idea of it.

But, my questioners point out, since critics deal with what is not objectively measurable, and their judgments are mere personal opinions, can one of them contend that his opinion is right and another's wrong? To my questioners the answer is very clear that he cannot; and they would approve of what Virgil Thomson said when I asked him once what the *Herald Tribune* music staff had done in its course in music criticism at New York University: "On the democratic assumption that any opinion is legitimate that can be expressed in clear prose, we taught them how to write." But I would say the democratic assumption he referred to holds only for the opinions of private belief and conversation, not for those of published criticism; and that the assumption underlying the publication of an opinion is that it is worth publishing because it embodies the special critical perception that most people lack. Thomson might say he was speaking only of opinions of this sort; and my questioners undoubtedly would point out that their question is concerned with differences in opinions of this sort.

I would say then first that if one concedes the possibility of the critic having greater perception than his lay readers, one has to concede the possibility of one critic having greater perception than another. And my second answer is to say how I think criticism operates. The piece of music is a communication; as such it may impress different minds differently; and the critic reports to his readers the effect it has on *his* mind. But in this he acts only as a sort of guide-post, saying in effect: "At this point I hear this detail, this quality, this meaning, this value"—after which his reader listens and may say: "Yes, I hear all that too." But his reader also may say: "No, I don't hear that, I hear *this*." What the critic says about a piece of music is true for his reader only if it is confirmed by the reader's ears; and each critic writes for the group of people who have found his perceptions and evaluations confirmed sufficiently by their own experience. The critic, in other words, writes not what is true, but what is true for him, and what becomes true for other people who find it to be so when they listen. And this is so not only when he writes about a piece of music or a performance, but when he writes about another critic's statement.

One thing that is true for me is that there are a lot of people writing about music on nothing but Thomson's democratic assumption. To practice medicine or law or engineering a man has to prove himself qualified; but all he has to do is persuade somebody to publish what he has written, and he is a music critic, about whom I will be asked how I know I am right and he is wrong.

Speaking of Thomson and criticism I should mention an interesting clipping I came across recently. Early in 1934

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Olin Downes discussed "the becoming attitude of the American critic toward the native composer and his works," and asked Roger Sessions and Thomson (in America at the time for "Four Saints") for their opinions. The clipping gives their letters: one from Sessions on the relation of the critic to the composer; one from Thomson on the proper setting of words in operatic declamation. And I begin now to understand those articles and reviews that have no connection with the concert or book they are supposedly concerned with: Thomson writes about what is in his mind at the moment, and it's up to the pianist or author to adjust himself to that, not the other way around.

Letters

The Big Swap

Dear Sirs: A marine wrote home to his parents (our neighbors), including in his letter the following: "Right there where thousands of marines and Chinese and all types of men in the world were killed—we had a big swap. Shaking hands all around, and just plain laughter. It's enough to make a guy wonder what the waste was for. . . ."

Yet in the U. N. we see our representative, Mr. Lodge, seeming to follow the dictates of that aged tyrant, Mr. Rhee. It will take bigger men than Lodge, Knowland, Dulles, and McCarthy to negotiate the peace in Korea and the world.

Walnut Creek, Cal. TOM KENDALL

Undeportable Expendables

Dear Sirs: Speed the day when that unfriendly, chilling term "alien," even in its most technically legal application, has disappeared and been replaced by "foreign-born"! However, I applaud its use when applied in a sense never envisaged by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. We have in our midst native-born Americans who are indeed aliens—but undeportable.

I would nominate for inclusion in this inglorious roster those judges sitting on political cases whose conduct reflects the current hysteria, lawyers fearful of defending proponents of unpopular views, faculties of schools and colleges maintaining prudent, unprotesting silence while colleagues, gifted and dedicated teachers, are dismissed. But leading all the rest, I would nominate as Dean of Undeportable Aliens, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

With respect to the foreign-born, I hope fellow-readers will wholeheartedly support the omnibus bill introduced by Senator Lehman and Representative Celler on August 3, which will come up in Congress in January. Its purpose is recodification of all immigration and naturalization laws, broadening their democratic base and eliminating their shamefully onerous provisions.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

For Mr. del Vayo . . .

Dear Sirs: At least one of your readers —and I suspect a good many others— values the independent judgment of your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo, and consider his thoughtful commentary perhaps the best feature of *The Nation.* Surely Mr. Novick [*The Nation,* August 29] and his fellow cold-warriors can feel assured that their point of view is not being neglected since at least 99 per cent of the press is with them. Possibly what Mr. Novick finds most objectionable is a conscientious analyst realistically trying to appraise the role of the United States and Russia in the arena of international power politics rather than in the allegorical terms of good and evil so hallowed in the folklore of American foreign relations.

Newark, N. J. ROBERT D. WARTH

Dear Sirs: For months now I have turned eagerly to the writings of Mr. del Vayo in *The Nation* because he writes such good sense, is free from hostility and rancor. . . . I'm sorry Mr. Novick does not like his views. I'm sure the reason must be within Mr. Novick himself.

Syracuse, N. Y. LILLIAN E. REINER

. . . And Against

Dear Sirs: With good conscience I could have written every word that Irving Novick wrote in your issue of August 29 about Mr. del Vayo's strange reluctance to recognize the obvious in Russia. It must be reluctance, for I would not do his otherwise poised urbanity, keen insights, political sophistication, and wide erudition the injustice of taking it as insensibility. I say this as one who reads Mr. del Vayo with pleasure. He should be printed, but also he should be evaluated, especially when the question is raised.

Sarasota, Fla. ELLIS FREEMAN

Dear Sirs: I too have been a reader of *The Nation* for many years and find it informative and stimulating. Neverthe-

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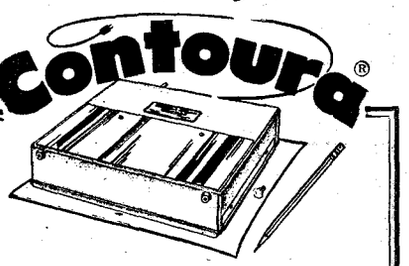
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less, I must join with Irving Novick regarding the articles by your foreign editor, J. Alvarez del Vayo. I read his articles with interest, but must admit that he seems to be biased, and certainly not favorable to the United States.

Chicago, Ill. WILLIAM E. RODRIGUEZ

Beg Pardon, San Diego

Dear Sir: Say what you like about Los Angeles—you can't be too caustic to suit us—but please don't bracket us with them by referring to "Southern California." When the Rome-inspired attack upon UNESCO was launched in the schools here, the citizenry rose en masse and put it down with a resounding thump. And when the parochial schools made their big play for tax exemption last November, San Diego stood out among the three great population centers as rolling up such a tremendous "no" vote that it looked for a time as if it might save the state. The current suit to invalidate the law on grounds of unconstitutionality was largely inaugurated through San Diego influence. [Last month the Superior Court of Alameda County held the measure unconstitutional, but the decision is being appealed.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

When you speak of separation of church and state with reference to California issues, always remember the state's white spot—San Diego.

San Diego DEE SMITH

Ike on Academic Freedom

Dear Sirs: Writing in *The Nation* of September 4, 1948, Professor Frank Bowen Evans, of Columbia University, wondered whether I "had been seeing things under the bed" when I warned that colleges, universities, and teachers would come under destructive fire from Congressional committees. I am sorry that I was right and Professor Bowen wrong.

In retrospect, it is interesting to note two passages from his *Nation* article: "In any event," he wrote, "liberals must be prepared to fight for their beliefs now, before it is too late." He also reported what Mr. Eisenhower, then president of Columbia University, had said to me by telephone from Denver, where he was on a golfing vacation: "At any rate, the mere hint of such an examination of educational institutions led Dwight D. Eisenhower [to say], 'Universities are the cornerstones of democracy, and I defy anyone to find them otherwise.'"

We could congratulate ourselves if Dr. Evans's injunction to liberals were acted on today and if Ike would restate his views on university inquisitions.

J. ALVIN KUGELMASS

Westbury, N. Y.

Smoking and Lung Cancer

Dear Sirs: Your May 23 issue, containing the article on Smoking and Lung Cancer, has just come to my attention and given me great satisfaction. As early as 1928, in a paper in *The Medical Times,* I had focused attention on the comparative harmfulness of smoking. . . . The responsibility of the medical profession with respect to tobacco is tremendous. TV advertising drags out the doctor in a white jacket. "Physicians" are reported to approve this or that cigarette . . . Perhaps such articles as yours will prod physicians into challenging the tobacco companies and their advertising writers.

MEYER GOLOB, M.D.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Havelock Ellis

Dear Sirs: I have been engaged for the past eighteen months in writing the life of Havelock Ellis. Finding a number of gaps in the American side of the picture, I wondered whether any of your readers possess sequences of letters from him and would let me see them? I should undertake, of course, to see that all material was safely returned.

Alternatively, some people may have interesting recollections of him which they might care to pass on to me, or some memories of the lecture tours which Mrs. Edith Ellis made in the United States. Anyone who knew Mrs. Edith Ellis in the United States might be able to help me. My address is: 45, Great Ormond St., London, W. E. 1, England.

London VINCENT BROME

Wrong Address

Dear Sirs: Some time ago, in an editorial on Fighting Franco, you referred to the "anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, with headquarters in Amsterdam." The confederation's headquarters are in Brussels, Belgium, 24 Rue Lombard, to be exact.

New York DANIEL G. KRANE

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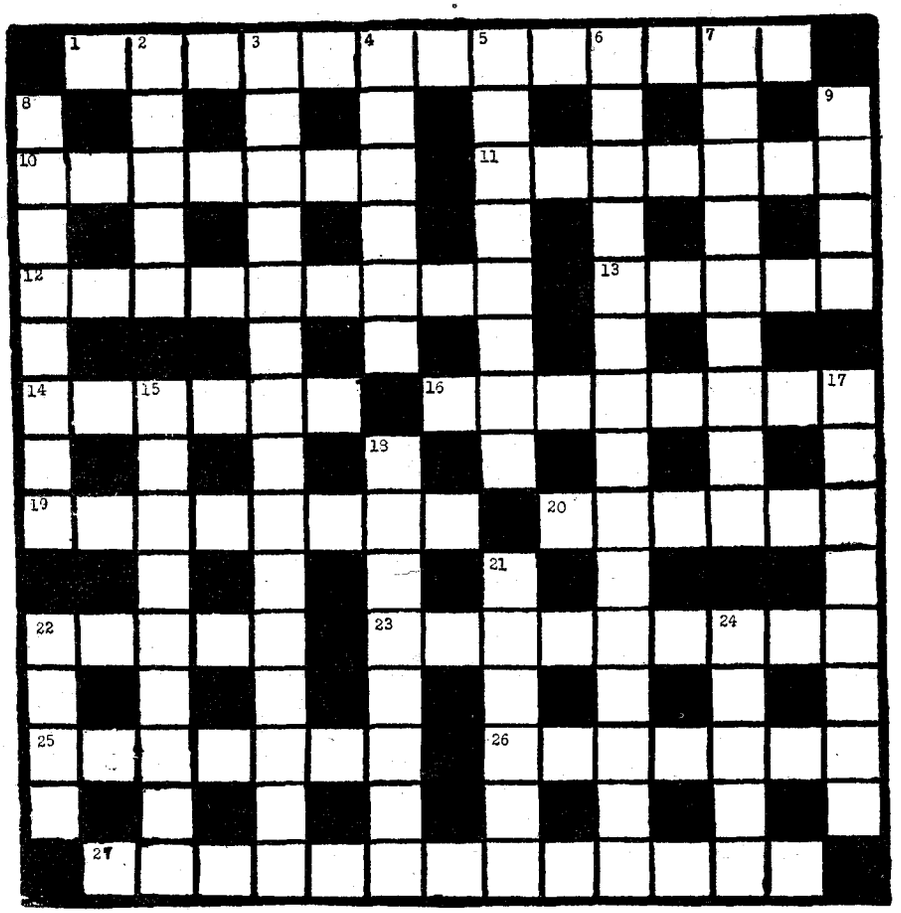
Crossword Puzzle No. 533

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

10 and 1 Method of Damyankee reticence which helps stop panic? (7, 7, 6)
11 They permit change of character, if one errs. (7)
12 An arrangement of the Psalm, done while in a cell. (9)
13 One animal that is responsible for another. (5)
14 Some of those referred to by 27 hope to make this register. (6)
16 Big head of 3. (8)
19 Making the minute, as planes might be? (8)
20 Venus's companion said "No!" (6)
22 Turner production of the French and the English. (5)
23 Sacrificed. (9)
25 If you've cut any, a land reform is possible. (7)
26 An outwork sounds as though it's coming undone. (7)
27 What grandfather looked for, instead of a good allowance on the old car? (8, 5)

DOWN

2 Most past participles do. (5)
3 The foreign stage, where some of us complained about the service? (8, 7)
4 Vernacular. (6)
5 Found on the range, the old highway, or the waves. (8)
6 Small cash-and-carry institution, and what it doesn't do? (5, 3, 7)
7 Always on the best-kept part of course! (9)
8 The ways of the transgressor. (8)
9 Finesse, but not with the organ. (4)
15 Successful fighter-pilot with a good cover above, but destined for the sea. (9)
17 Torn around the edge of the liver? (8)
18 The gain is in gold, for example, in either bar or leaf form. (8)
21 One has to be on the inside of things to do it. (6)
22 The last minstrel's were not those of ancient Rome. (4)
24 Blocked, perhaps, with old-fashioned hats? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 532

ACROSS:—1 CHINESE JUNK; 9 DISCOVER; 10 MAGNUM; 11 SPREADS; 12 TIN-TYPE; 14 FRIDAY; 15 FLAPPERS; 17 IRISH SEA; 20 COUGHS; 22 SKIPPER; 24 BOX-TOPS; 26 ISRAEL; 27 and 13 ARTICLES OF WAR; 28 NETHERLANDS.

DOWN:—2 HACIENDAS; 3 NAVY DAY; 4 SERF; 5 JAMAICA; 6 NIGHT; 7 DIPPER; 8 JUMPER; 16 POULTICED; 18 RAKISH; 19 STEALTH; 20 CROATIA; 21 HOPPER; 23 PLANE; 25 FAIR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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